1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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865 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
182 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
571 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases, of which Mangma is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

## STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
858 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

858 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A comparable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*moku*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

● 851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
885 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

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Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as
"the father of So-and-so." This modified teknonymy is rarer for women. That it should occur in a group where patrilocal residence predominates gives it perhaps a greater significance than if it occurred in a society with matrilocal residence. Children, therefore, are important in giving status to adults. They are valued also, as the next chapter indicates, because they give the death feasts, which mean postmortem prestige for the parents. However, it is quite possible that children may have a value in adult eyes from which the children themselves do not benefit.

There was one case of a child prophet, a little girl of about six called Koleti, who was able to sway the community for several weeks.

One day Koleti's mother sent her to fetch a spoon. The child did not return and could not be found all day. Her father and paternal grandfather, who were on a dunning trip to a distant village, said they saw her appear on the trail and then fade into thin air. That evening the mother heard a rustling in the loft, asked who was there, and heard Koleti answer, "We are. We are coming down." And the child was discovered hiding in the loft.

Some weeks later the mother and father were both in a village about a day's journey away. Again the child appeared and this time ordered them to return to their own home. She then disappeared. Actually, the child had been left at home in the care of a sickly youth of about twenty, who reported that she had disappeared from home at the time her parents believed she spoke to them in the distant village. The child was by now the center of attention in the community, and adults suggested to her that she was in contact with a Good Being and was on the way to becoming one herself. Koleti was quick to play on this suggestion. She ordered a special house built in which she would live alone until the Good Being and his wife arrived to care for her. The house was erected and adults assured me that it had miraculously grown taller overnight. Koleti ordered that an all-night dance be held, saying her supernatural friends would arrive at dawn. When they failed to arrive, interested adults, including her father and his cousin Malelaka (see Malelaka's autobiography), were quick to make excuses and say the advent was merely delayed.

For days Koleti continued to be the center of attention. At a feast she fell ill and everyone crowded around her in concern. Her rationalization was that a small playmate had rubbed his greasy hands on her. Her pronouncements were all in the traditional pattern connected with the advent of a Good Being. She could not attend death feasts, all